

2006

# Kinship and the Dynamics of the House: Rediscovering Dualism in the Pueblo Past

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Heitman, Carrie and Plog, Stephen, "Kinship and the Dynamics of the House: Rediscovering Dualism in the Pueblo Past" (2006).  
*Anthropology Faculty Publications*. 76.

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# 4

## Kinship and the Dynamics of the House

### *Rediscovering Dualism in the Pueblo Past*

**Carolyn Heitman and Stephen Plog**

Even if we grant that the Keresans came from the San Juan [Basin]—which I am inclined to believe since it is their own tradition—this does not rule out the possibility that they came equipped with moieties as well as clans and the rest. The Anasazi peoples practiced irrigation and built huge communal houses. Chaco towns have two large Kivas. It is not impossible that a moiety system was some sort of response to these conditions.

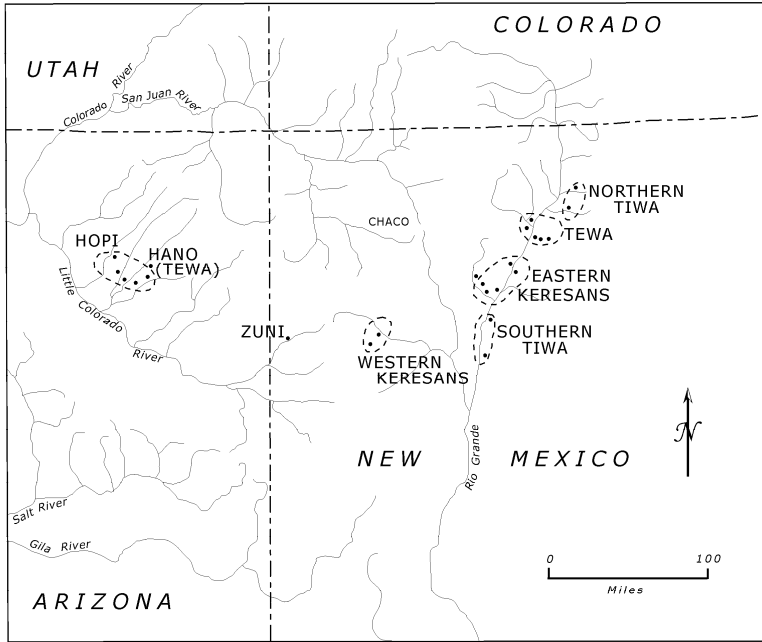
—R. Fox (1967:31–32)

The nature and evolution of prehispanic Pueblo social and political organization has long been a focus of both ethnologists and archaeologists working in the American Southwest. Beginning at least with Steward's (1937) pioneering study emphasizing the ratio of ritual structures (kivas) to pueblo rooms as an index of organizational change, most of these discussions have explicitly or implicitly drawn on a western Pueblo (predominantly Hopi) model. Components of this model include (1) a general acceptance of the idea that the western Pueblos of Hopi and Zuni were the least impacted by Spanish and subsequent American colonization because of their isolation; (2) a belief that Hopi organization therefore provides the most pristine representation of Pueblo organization at the end of the prehispanic era; and (3) a consequent emphasis on social reconstructions that emphasize lineages and clans, fundamental Hopi institutions as described in classic

ethnographies (for example, Titiev 1944; Eggan 1950). An important correlate of this model is the view that contemporary organizational variation such as the dual or moiety divisions significant in many Rio Grande communities (for example, Ortiz 1969), often referred to as eastern Pueblos, can be attributed either to the impact of the Spanish or to different agricultural strategies that developed in the better-watered Rio Grande region toward the end of the prehispanic period.

The Hopi or western Pueblo model has been endorsed almost universally by archaeologists studying the Pueblo region. From this perspective, archaeologists typically view the smaller pueblos as lineage communities, and they attribute the larger pueblos (and higher room-to-kiva ratios more common late in the precolonial era) to the development of clans. In this chapter, we explore the application of this model to the Chaco Canyon region of northwestern New Mexico, an area of unparalleled architectural elaboration during the ninth through twelfth centuries a.d. Chaco differs in many ways from classic Hopi towns. For example, the twelve Chacoan great houses ranging from 50 to over 650 rooms and minimally dating to the period from a.d. 1030 to 1130 are concentrated within a nine-mile stretch of the canyon (fig. 4.1), a density unprecedented in any other area in any time period. Hundreds of contemporaneous smaller pueblos also occupy the same stretch of the canyon, revealing a unique degree of settlement variation. Moreover, great houses similar to those in the canyon occur throughout much of the San Juan Basin in the Four Corners region and beyond, and some are connected to the canyon via formal roads.

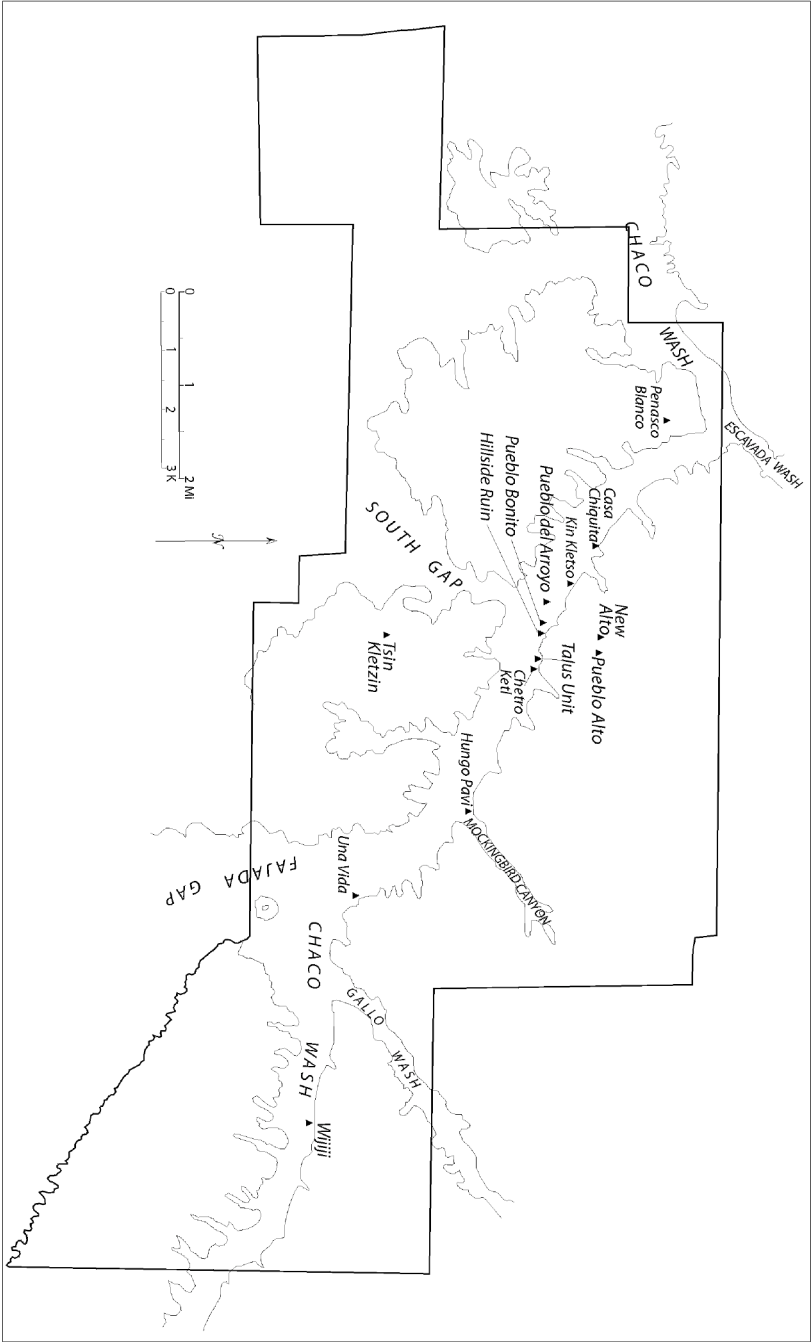
The nature of the prehispanic occupation of Chaco Canyon has been studied and debated for over a century, but central to virtually all interpretations is acceptance of the Hopi or western Pueblo model that postulates lineages and clans as the fundamental organizational units. In this chapter, we critique the general acceptance of the normative western Pueblo model and ask whether the significant prehispanic variation that we observe might require consideration of alternative models. Focusing on Chaco Canyon, we hope to suggest that an alternative organizational perspective might allow us to address the predominant dual divisions of the Rio Grande Pueblos and allow us to more fully understand the archaeological patterns that have been observed in Chaco.

**FIGURE 4.1**

*Great house locations in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico.*

## ETHNOGRAPHIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL MODELS

In 1967, Robin Fox published *The Keresan Bridge: A Problem in Pueblo Ethnology*, an incisive critique of Eggan's (1950) conclusion that the original form of all Pueblo social organization was the matrilineal clan, lineage, and household complex that characterizes the western Pueblos. The presence and strength of that social complex was central to Eggan's separation of the Hopi and the Zuni (western Pueblos) from their eastern Pueblo neighbors, the Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa. Keresan groups—Acoma and Laguna to the west and Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, and Zia to the east (fig. 4.2)—“bridged” the eastern and western Pueblo groups and were the focus of Fox's assessment of Eggan's model of the evolution of Pueblo social organization. As the above quote indicates, Fox suggested that Keresan groups could have created dual organization (moieties) as a “response” to conditions in Chaco and the broader San Juan Basin.<sup>1</sup> Although he never explicitly defines what conditions those might have



**FIGURE 4.2**

*Historic distribution of eastern and western Pueblo groups of the American Southwest.*

been, irrigation is implied as a key factor since he emphasizes the association of large towns, moieties, and irrigation in this quote and elsewhere (for example, R. Fox 1967:8–10).<sup>2</sup>

Fox, following Eggan, thus pointed the discussion of Pueblo organization and culture change in a seemingly productive direction, and in the next eleven years several other studies appeared (not all necessarily spurred by Fox) that amplified key components of the Fox proposal. Most importantly, two years after the appearance of *The Keresan Bridge*, Alfonso Ortiz (1969) presented his persuasive treatise, *The Tewa World*, in which he documented the importance of dualism in the Tewa world. Ortiz's book seemingly made it impossible to ignore the importance of dualism in the Pueblo world view, ritual, and sociopolitical organization.

Another year later, R. Gwinn Vivian (1970a; see Vivian [1970b] for a more detailed presentation) described and confirmed the importance and nature of Chaco water control systems in a pioneering School of American Research volume devoted to prehistoric Pueblo social organization (Longacre, ed. 1970a).<sup>3</sup> He further observed that these water control systems seemed to be associated with individual great houses, and he hypothesized that these houses were organized into nonexogamous moieties. R. G. Vivian (1970a:81–82) noted that the presence of “two architecturally distinct units” at Pueblo Bonito and of no more than two great kivas at any of the great houses is consistent with a dual division of Chacoan towns. He therefore suggested that the great houses were “dual division residence units characterized by non-exogamous moieties” and provided a list of other correlates (test implications) that could be used to further scrutinize the possibility of a dual division (R. G. Vivian 1970a:81–82; 1970b:273, 274–76).

In the first years of the 1970s, Fox (R. Fox 1972) modified his argument in *The Keresan Bridge* to take into account *The Tewa World*. Noting that his earlier proposal assumed “the previous existence of exogamous patrimoieties,” he (1972:76) rejects the notion that moieties must be exogamous and acknowledges that Ortiz has shown that dual divisions “can be achieved by using various principles of duality other than the classic moiety principle of recruitment by descent” and “do not necessarily articulate with any system of marriage exchange.” After an analysis of Cochiti and western Keres kinship terminology,

however, Fox (1972:81, 83–84) suggests that aspects of that terminology fit “beautifully...with a system of two exogamous patrilineal moieties cross-cut by exogamous matrilineal clans,” although he again adds (p. 84) that “the moieties need not have been exogamous units.”<sup>4</sup>

Eleven years after the appearance of *The Keresan Bridge*, Fred Plog (1978) reviewed the ethnographic and archaeological evidence relevant to Fox’s proposal and similarly concluded that prehispanic processes of culture change were more complex than Eggan allowed. He further noted that “[s]ites organized around several large plazas, suggestive of moiety-like divisions, do indeed occur near and in the Rio Grande Valley” (F. Plog 1978:369–70). In the very same edited volume, John Fritz’s (1978) analysis of the locations of Chacoan sites, kivas, and burials, as well as the distribution of architectural features within kivas and pueblos revealed multiple dimensions of symmetry and asymmetry. Fritz concluded that “reflective symmetry expressed social equivalence of social aggregates linked in a *closed* system of balanced duality” (1978:50; emphasis in original). He further suggested:

If eastern and western social aggregates were balanced by reflective symmetry, rotational symmetry expressed sequential alteration within a closed system, that is, cyclical change. It is plausible that the change expressed was the rotation of authority and responsibility for management of the affairs of towns and of the valley itself. Such a pattern characterizes at least some of the contemporary Pueblo in the Rio Grande Valley, such as the Tewa (Ortiz 1969). And it would have been a relatively simple organizational structure for the population that occupied the Chaco area. (Fritz 1978:50)

At the time that Fox, Ortiz, Vivian, Fritz, and F. Plog published their studies, most scholars regarded Chaco Canyon as an important region of the prehispanic Pueblo Southwest, but it was hardly the focal point it has become in the last twenty-five years. The research by the joint University of New Mexico–National Park Service project that was just beginning in the mid-1970s has subsequently spurred not only a vast literature, but a literature in which archaeologists frequently portray Chaco as socially, politically, and ideologically central to much of what unfolded in the Pueblo world during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries (for example, Van Dyke 2003a:185).

The recent Chaco-centricity in combination with the focus on dualism and, more generally, on Pueblo social organization that characterized much research in the 1970s and 1980s and created considerable excitement (Sebastian 1992:3) might reasonably be expected to have generated a particular focus on the issue of Chaco moieties and internal great house organization. Surprisingly, this has not been the case. Although some important Chacoan syntheses (R. G. Vivian 1990) highlight dualism, most do not. Indeed, many of the important studies of the last fifteen years make little or no reference to dualism whatsoever (for example, Cordell et al. 2001; Mills 2002; Ware and Blinman 2000). Some (Sebastian 1992:5) explicitly reject the importance of such organizational dimensions, arguing that even if we can firmly identify such units in the archaeological record, this knowledge "would not constitute a road map to other aspects of prehistoric social organization." Others (for example, Ware 2002) ignore or deemphasize moieties even while paradoxically highlighting the need to pay greater attention to eastern Pueblo social organization and, in particular, medicine societies in our attempts to understand Chaco.

In the remainder of this chapter, we attempt to identify some of the reasons why archaeologists have underemphasized such organizational dimensions as moieties and have instead highlighted alternative approaches. We suggest that this tendency is not limited to Chaco or the broader Southwest, but is a product in part of the more general theoretical approaches to prehistoric organization and culture change that archaeologists have advocated. Finally, we explore some of the strengths and weaknesses of the various approaches and ask whether there is an alternative approach to understanding Chaco (and comparable societies) that might be developed.

## **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

One overarching question that has guided much archaeological research of the last century concerns the significant organizational variation that we observe among past societies. Why did some groups live in small population aggregates, inhabiting ephemeral camps for periods of the year, when other peoples settled year-round in large villages of hundreds of people and still others constructed the huge urban centers of Ur or Teotihuacan? Why did some people contribute hundreds of hours to construct large public ritual structures, while



others did not? Why do we observe elaborate burials suggesting significant social differentiation in some areas, but not in others? For archaeologists, in particular, these questions have not only an important synchronic, comparative dimension, but also a significant diachronic dimension, given that we often observe substantial culture change in most regions over the course of time. How and why did such synchronic and diachronic variation arise?

To answer such questions, we must first be able to describe the variation that we observe. These descriptions have typically involved the creation of categories, terms that in a formal sense bracket similar (but not identical) phenomena and separate dissimilar (but not unequal) phenomena. Such categories vary in their scope and inclusiveness; some describe artifacts (pottery types), others illustrate differences in settlement characteristics (such as hamlet, village, town, or city), and still others express differences in sociopolitical organization. “Band,” “tribe,” “chiefdom,” and “state” (hereafter B-T-C-S)—categories used in much archaeological discussion in the Southwest and elsewhere, particularly the definitions offered by Service (1962)—exemplify the latter groupings. We believe that implicit and explicit endorsement of some of these categories is one of the reasons for scholars’ limited perspective on prehispanic Pueblo organization and, in particular, the lack of attention to moieties.

### **Tribes, Chiefdoms, and the Pueblo Southwest**

Until the most recent uneasiness (for example, Mills 2002) over the B-T-C-S concepts, Southwestern archaeologists and ethnographers had used the concept of a tribe quite regularly, and for good reason (Cordell 1999:81). Spanish documents and later ethnography revealed groups with both linguistic and cultural distinctions that conformed with common conceptions of distinctive groups of people, separated by linguistic and cultural differences, groups who recognized themselves as having different origins and identities. Moreover, archaeological studies quite clearly demonstrated the existence of at least some of these cultural distinctions prior to the Spanish entry into the Southwest. We refer here not to frequently used culture areas or spheres such as Anasazi, Mogollon, or Sinagua, but rather to the prehispanic clusters of settlements at Zuni, Hopi, the Little Colorado

River Valley, the Mogollon highlands, and in parts of the Rio Grande Valley. If “tribes” in other parts of the world could be defined as a product of Western colonial expansion, this certainly was not the case in much of the Pueblo region (see also Sanders and Webster 1978:268–69). On the other hand, the sometimes widely spaced settlement clusters of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries had little prior precedent in the region; one could therefore reasonably ask whether the “tribal” distinctions of late prehistory were the norm or an aberration.

Although many have applied the tribal concept to the Pueblo Southwest, few have embraced the relevance of chiefdoms. Only in the last quarter century have practitioners consistently raised questions about social or political differentiation in the Southwest, and only rarely have there been strong advocates who concluded that such differentiation existed to the degree envisioned in some definitions of the chiefdom concept. From the perspective of the vast majority of archaeologists, the last millennium of Pueblo history can be described using the notion of the tribe, or at least the notion of relative social equality that the tribal concept conveyed (Steward 1937).

One weakness of the neo-evolutionary categories as they have been applied to the Southwest is thus made apparent: the tribal concept is so broad that it can be used to describe eras ranging from the clustering in Chaco Canyon of massive great houses built through the cooperative labor of hundreds of people, reflecting “the power to deploy large amounts of labor in construction work” (Wills 2000:19), at one extreme, to the typical social landscape of the tenth century when villages of small groups of individuals, occupied for a few decades at most, dominated most of the Pueblo countryside. If explaining such variation is important, and we believe it is, either the tribal concept fails to help us achieve that goal or we have a difficult time recognizing chiefdoms in the archaeological record [as Flannery (1999) has recently argued for the Near East; see also F. Plog (1989:111)].

We suggest that both of these factors are important. Service (1962:144) himself noted that “chiefdoms are not always demarked by a particular technological innovation which would set them off from tribes and states, but are characterized by their form of organization, most of which is not revealed in archaeological deposits.” Similarly,

Fried (1967:153) notes that “the differences between egalitarian and rank society, although profound in implication, are fairly subtle in the manner in which they played out in the behavior of real people.” This difficulty in recognizing the archaeological signatures of chiefdoms has been compounded by the hesitation (or, in some cases, aversion) of archaeologists to believe, given the alleged harshness of the Southwest environment and ethnographic descriptions of Pueblo sociopolitical organization, that sociopolitical hierarchies may have characterized some prehispanic societies.

Others also have noted that a small number of finite categories such as band, tribe, chiefdom, and state underestimate and oversimplify the variation of interest to us and that categories developed from synchronic variation are particularly problematical for the study of diachronic change (Cordell 1999:81; F. Plog 1973:656–57; 1977:30–38). The B-T-C-S framework is largely a descriptive, typological approach that falls short of the goal of addressing “*processes* of evolutionary transformation in any detailed way” (Sanders and Webster 1978:275; *emphasis in original*). Even Service [1962:5; see Sahlins and Service (1960) for a more extended discussion], whose definition has been so heavily emphasized by archaeologists, distinguished between *general* evolutionary change described via the B-T-C-S terminology and *specific* patterns of culture change in particular areas.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, in some cases where causes of change have been postulated by Service, such as the evolution of chiefdoms from the need to redistribute resources, key archaeological studies have failed to support the proposed relationship (for example, Earle 1978). As a result, some archaeologists have eschewed the use of such terms as *tribe* or *chiefdom* altogether<sup>6</sup> (for example, Cordell 1999:90).

Most important in regard to our interest in prehispanic Pueblo dualism are Service’s defining characteristics of tribal social organization, which have directed most archaeological research. For Service (1962:115), “the development of pan-tribal sodalities is the emergent feature which made bands into a new level of sociocultural integration.” These pan-tribal sodalities may or may not be “derived from the kinship order.” Those that are derived from kinship are based on the concept of descent or common ancestry, forming named groups in which membership is no longer based on place of residence, thus

creating nonlocal, pan-tribal sodalities (Service 1962:116). Service (1962:118) refers to these descent groups as “clans,” and suggests that clans “are typically associated with tribes whose kinship groups are, or had been, of the unilocal—later, lineal—type. Thus, “the basic social characteristics of lineal tribes are rules of unilocal residence and lineal descent reckoning, a social structure of residential groups and sodalities (mainly lineages and clans) based on these rules, and status terminologies which manifest in certain respects the influences of all of the above” (Service 1962:120). The Hopi and Zuni are among the groups that exemplify such lineal tribes (Service 1962:119).

In contrast, sodalities that are not derived from kinship “seem to be those that have experienced breakdown, disorganization, depopulation, defeat, removal or some such hazards that have resulted in a readaptation on a social basis that is not—perhaps cannot be—on a basis of lineal descent, and mostly not on descent at all” (Service 1962:119). The Rio Grande Pueblos are cited as one of the prime examples (Service 1962:120). Service (1962:137) thus suggests that “corporate lineages are the normal aboriginal form of tribal residential groups,” whereas “composite groups correspond to the breakup of tribal organization after the impact of modern civilization.” In the case of the Rio Grande Pueblos, this “breakup” is attributed, following Eggan (1950:313-321), to the impact of Spanish colonization (Service 1962:137).

As the reference to Eggan’s (1950) study suggests, Service’s formulation synthesizes several ethnographic descriptions of tribal organization in different areas of the world, particularly studies of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s that emphasized the structural-functionalist approach of Radcliffe-Brown. For the Pueblos, of course, Eggan’s *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos* was particularly influential. In this anthropological classic, Eggan (1950:292; 1966: 112–41, *passim*) argues that contemporary Pueblo social organization could be traced back to a western Pueblo origin through the predominant integrative mechanism of the “lineage principle,” which emphasized solidarity and unity. This idealized formulation privileged matrilineal descent and the household lineage group, best exemplified by Eggan’s description of the Hopi, a western Pueblo society, as mechanisms of social integration. Moreover, Eggan (1950:305; 1966:136–37) viewed the contrasting

duality of eastern Pueblo moiety formulations as a degeneration of the western Pueblo lineage principle resulting from Spanish impact. Thus, according to Eggan's (1950:291) model, modern Pueblo groups have all descended from a western Pueblo "protoculture" characterized as matrilineal and segmentary. Groups such as the Hopi, which continued the ancestral Pueblo practice of floodwater farming and had suffered less from European impact, retained the characteristics of this protoculture in Eggan's reconstruction. He further argued that eastern Pueblo groups diverged from the western Pueblo type some time after the late thirteenth-century migration from the Colorado Plateau because of different agricultural strategies, particularly irrigation, and the impact of the Spanish (Eggan 1950:316). Eggan (1966:136–37) later reaffirmed this view:

I have also argued that the Tewa probably had a social organization of the general western Pueblo type but that the conditions under which abandonment of the Mesa Verde and adjoining regions took place was not conducive to maintaining a complex social structure.... [T]he adjustment to new conditions in the Rio Grande—including the development of irrigation projects—and the necessity for protection against nomadic invaders would require communal effort and central direction.

My own guess is that the dual organization began to develop soon after reaching the Rio Grande. The dual principle is the simplest form of segmentary organization and operates most effectively in relatively small groups. The patrilineal tendencies may have developed in terms of both the increasing importance of men in agricultural activities and of the centralization of ceremonial and political activities.

Not surprisingly, given Eggan's formulation as well as antecedent studies (for example, Steward 1937), when Southwestern scholars turned their focus to community social organization in some of the equally classic archaeological studies of the 1960s and 1970s (for example, Dean 1970; J. N. Hill 1970; Longacre, ed. 1970b; Wilcox 1975), they too emphasized lineal descent and unilocal residence patterns.

Subsequent critiques (for example, S. Plog 1978; 1980; Schiffer 1989) of the many organizational studies that were based on analysis of stylistic variation had the unfortunate effect of discouraging virtually all efforts to empirically identify intracommunity social groups. One result has been that most discussions address sociopolitical organization only at broader spatial scales (for example, Braun and Plog 1980), focus largely on issues of elites or stratification, or address local sociopolitical organization through often vague or empirically unconnected concepts that continue to emphasize the western Pueblo modes of organization (for example, Sebastian 1992).

In a 2001 *American Antiquity* issue on Chaco Canyon, Peter Peregrine demonstrates how the normative western Pueblo model is still embedded within new theoretical formulations. In the article, Peregrine argues that “kinship is central to an understanding of sociopolitical organization and the organization of production in Chaco Canyon” (Peregrine 2001:36). The Chacoan polity, according to Peregrine, used matrilineal matrilineal lineages to build political power. By presuming a descent system in which “matrilineal groups formed the basic structure of Chacoan society” (2001:44), Peregrine makes a number of questionable assumptions. For example, he presupposes that the lineage formation was stable through time and that such a kin-based formation served as the organizing principle of emergent political power and therefore must have preceded more complex political organization (McKinnon 2002). In this way, Peregrine implicitly draws upon the western Pueblo model as the prehistoric progenitor of later forms of social organizations, ignoring other contrasting and complementary forms of affiliation.

### **The Corporate-Network Alternative**

The “dual processual theory” developed by Feinman and colleagues (for example, Blanton et al. 1996; Feinman 2000a, 2000b; Feinman, Lightfoot, and Upham 2000) is the most recent example of an alternative effort to understand organizational variation. This approach postulates “dual strategies of hierarchical organization” distinguished by disparate “corporate and network forms of political action” or “pathways to power” (Feinman 2000a:155; 2000b:207–8). The authors describe these two forms or modes as the endpoints of a

continuum, an organizational dimension “that runs perpendicular to the long recognized dimension of hierarchical complexity” (Feinman 2000a:159; 2000b: figs. 12.1, 12.2).

Feinman (2000a:160; 2001; Feinman, Lightfoot, and Upham 2000:453–54)<sup>7</sup> attributes to the corporate mode such characteristics as even wealth distributions, shared power arrangements, corporate labor systems, monumental ritual spaces, staple finance (as defined by D’Altroy and Earle 1985), and *segmental* organization. Access to labor and land, derived through corporate *descent*, is most critical in the corporate mode (Feinman 2000a:158). The *network* mode, in contrast, is distinguished by “the acquisition of wealth through individual, entrepreneurial linkages and the use of that wealth to attract factions by these charismatic figures” (Feinman 2000a:158). External, long-distance exchange ties that provide access to wealth items serve as an example of such entrepreneurial links (Feinman 2000a:158). “Princely burials,” wealth finance, lineal kinship systems, and “access to a network of financial arrangements” such as long-distance trade ties also mark the network mode (Feinman 2000a:158, 160). A key component of this approach is thus the recognition that sociopolitical hierarchy is not incompatible with egalitarian wealth distributions and that hierarchy may be based on such factors as differential ritual knowledge, as many others (for example, Brandt 1994; Helms 1979, 1998; Upham 1982) have previously recognized.

Unclear in this approach is how we separate, empirically or conceptually, the “corporate” segmental organization with “access to labor and land derived from corporate descent” from the network mode with “lineal kinship systems.” And how do these descriptors differ from the segmentary lineage systems of the structural functionalists? Are lineal kinship systems, for example, not corporate groups? Equally important, if we are interested in understanding and describing culture change, how does the corporate-network dichotomy help us achieve that goal? “Corporate” and “network” are, like the B-T-C-S classification, essentially static, descriptive categories rather than models that help us understand cultural dynamics (Cordell 1999:81; F. Plog 1973:656–57; 1977:30–38).<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, characterizing groups as different as the Pueblo communities of the Southwest and hierarchical states such as Classic-period Teotihuacan as exemplars of the corporate

mode of organization (Feinman 2000a:161; Feinman, Lightfoot, and Upham 2000) would seem to conflate much of the variation that we attempt to describe and understand.

## RECONCEPTUALIZING A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL APPROACH TO CHACO ORGANIZATION

From the corporate-network perspective, the great house era (A.D. 860 to 1130) of Chaco Canyon has been characterized as corporate (Feinman 2000a:167; Mills 2002; but see Neitzel [2003] for a different interpretation of the early great house period). The much smaller, early pueblo villages that follow the pithouse-pueblo transition in most areas of the Pueblo Southwest also are said to be corporate (Feinman, Lightfoot, and Upham 2000:464). But, as noted earlier, these labels conflate or obscure significant variation. Although “the control of exchange networks and prestige goods does not seem to have been at the nexus of power” (Feinman 2000a:167) in the American Southwest (a characteristic of corporate organization), for example, we nevertheless find large quantities of nonlocal turquoise and shell and lesser quantities of nonlocal copper and macaws concentrated within a few Chacoan great houses, particularly Pueblo Bonito. Moreover, the intensity of exchange fluctuated considerably throughout the northern Southwest in the centuries following the pithouse-pueblo transition (for example, S. Plog 1986). The inability of the corporate-network dichotomy to explain these fluctuations, to account for either the significant differences between early pueblos and Chacoan great houses (exactly the same problem we noted earlier with the concept of tribe), or to explain the large number and diversity of spatially clustered, non-local materials in these purportedly “corporate” great houses, further highlights the problems of this theoretical perspective.

Since neither the B-T-C-S framework nor the corporate-network dichotomy provides a fruitful approach to understanding the Pueblo past of Chaco Canyon, we believe we must consider alternatives. At least four features should be essential to any alternative. First, given that so many of our questions about culture change revolve around social groups, we suggest that a central component of this new approach should be a return to a focus on *organizational variation and change* (F. Plog 1977:24). The lack of specificity of the dual processual



approach regarding the organizational dimensions of corporate and network societies is rather remarkable in this regard. Second, given the many cultural dimensions of these social groups, we must consider evidence beyond the ceramic styles that were the focus of the earlier era of organizational studies and beyond the analyses of public architecture upon which so much of the discussion of Chacoan society concentrates (Cordell 1999:86; Varien 2001:56). Third, we suggest that the concepts and measurements we employ to study social change over time should be less categorical and static and more dimensional and dynamic than such concepts as matrilineal and patrilineal or network and corporate (Cordell 1999:81). Finally, our focus also should be multidimensional, not assuming patterned covariation among these dimensions, but recognizing the interrelationships among the many aspects of human behavior. As Service (1962:26) noted, “Real people in a real culture do not fill their days by performing in the sphere of technology at one time, social organization at another, and ideology still later.” The recent emphasis on Chaco as a largely a ritual phenomenon—a “rituality” (Drennan 1999:257–59; Yoffee 2001; Yoffee, Fish, and Milner 1999:265–67), a “location of high devotional significance” (Renfrew 2001)] or, in the case of Pueblo Bonito specifically, “a sacred space where special goods were ceremonially deposited and removed from the social system” (Cameron and Toll 2001:11)—exemplifies an overly narrow view not only of Chaco specifically, but of human behavior in general. Social groups are the nexus of ritual, but these groups have multiple, interrelated, and sometimes contradictory behavioral dimensions that cannot be exclusively assigned to ritual, economy, or politics.

A full illustration of such an approach is beyond the scope of this chapter as well as the present breadth and depth of our own initial research. In the discussion that follows, however, we attempt to illustrate some of the potential theoretical and empirical pathways and to show how those pathways might help us focus on and understand some of the neglected dimensions of the Chaco archaeological record.

### **The House Model**

We suggest that furthering our understanding of Chacoan social dynamics through time is contingent on our ability to incorporate mul-

multiple analytical domains to reveal the complexity of changing social relations through time (S. Plog 1995). Following the work of Susan Gillespie (2000a, 2000b), Rosemary Joyce (2000), and Susan McKinnon (1995, 2000, 2002), we attempt to show how one such approach that emphasizes the concept of the “house” might offer a fruitful analytical tool to enable the integration of Pueblo ethnographic and archaeological data and thereby construct dynamic interpretive models that will help us begin to understand the nature and significance of two Pueblo Bonito burial clusters and Chacoan society more generally.

In a conference paper presented at the 2002 Society for American Archaeology’s annual meeting, Susan McKinnon (2002) addressed the role of kinship in archaeology directly and took issue with the misapplication of kinship theory within archaeological interpretation. McKinnon argued that the process of defining a society according to a single type of affiliation (for instance, matrilineal) not only creates static conceptions, but also effectively erases the complexity of social relations. She also urged archaeologists to be critical of how kinship is often set in opposition to political or ritual domains. “By contrast,” McKinnon (2002) emphasizes, “to characterize a society by reference to multiple, differentially valued forms of affiliation, residence, and marriage is to comprehend structures and processes through which hierarchy and equality are created; to build dynamic rather than static models of society; and to open up a window onto social change.” And through such characterizations, McKinnon proposes, archaeology can make an exclusive contribution to long-term diachronic studies of the development of social organizations.

We suggest that the enduring focus on kinship typologies that McKinnon criticizes has driven most interpretations of prehispanic Pueblo social organization and has led us to overlook or at least to underemphasize dimensions of social relations such as dualism. That is, an overarching interest in the material correlates of social organization (for example, Longacre, ed. 1970a), in combination with the dominant model of western Pueblo organization with its roots in lineage theory, has followed from an evolutionary and typological conception of kinship in prehistory. This dependence is probably most evident in proposals positing that the architectural changes of the ninth through

thirteenth centuries indicate a shift from domestic household units to lineage units to clans (Eggan 1950:320; Steward 1937).

In recent critical kinship analyses, many scholars have drawn upon Levi-Strauss's concept of "house societies" (Lévi-Strauss 1982, 1987, 1991) to reorient the discussion away from classificatory schemes toward understanding house structures as sites of symbolic investment and the contexts of social relationships (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; J. Fox 1993a; Gillespie and Joyce, eds. 2000; McKinnon 1991, 1995, 2000, 2002; Waterson 1993). For example, Susan Gillespie and Rosemary Joyce (2000) have suggested that a reformulation of the concept of house societies offers an alternative to naturalized and static models of social organization. They argue that the house as a unit of analysis turns classificatory assumptions of descent on their head (Gillespie 2000a:7). By focusing on person-object relationships that are negotiated over a long period of time, advocates of this approach argue that the so-called house model invites the fruitful intersection of ethnographic detail and archaeological time-depth. In this way, the house becomes the context of social relationships negotiated through time and presumes no natural or stable form of affiliation with particular houses. Hierarchy, in this model, is an inherent component of the analysis in that "house membership usually does not impact everyone equivalently" (Gillespie 2000a:8).

We have argued that kinship theory has and continues to play a vital role in the construction of interpretive models within archaeology and that the house model offers an alternative theoretical orientation that shifts concern away from the classification of suites of social mechanisms to a site of enactment—the house. Although this model has predominantly been applied within Austronesian ethnography (J. Fox 1993a; but see Helms 1998), there is much to be gleaned from its application there and other, more recent archaeological theorizations. In recent scholarship, the house model has been recast from Levi-Strauss's formulation to create a new conceptual field that entails the social relationships as constructed through house affiliation. The components of a house model vary with ethnographic context, but within some Austronesian studies, anthropologists such as James Fox (1993b) and Roxana Waterson (1993) have focused on five major themes: (1) the indivisibility of ritual and political social dimensions

enacted and created through houses; (2) the linguistic reflexes of indigenous house terminology; (3) the symbolic investment in house construction and structure; (4) access to origins (Helms 1998); and (5) the kinship dynamics of house affiliation.

Given the inability to draw direct parallels between an ethnographic present and a precolonial past, how might this model help transcend the normative western Pueblo model and enable a more dynamic mode of analysis? Applications of this model (Gillespie 2000b; Helms 1998; McKinnon 1991, 1995) define the “house” as a social institution that stands as the materialization of social relationships. As such, the house is a site for the negotiation and reproduction of social relations through time. For Gillespie (2000a:18), the house is both a social and physical place that “locates persons within a complex web of categories and relationships that can be mapped against materially defined spaces.” This theorization, she argues, brings the contextual detail of ethnography together with examples of past cultural forms and sequential transformations available to archaeology (2000a:14).

By taking into account the life history of a structure, Gillespie (2000a:3; see also Helms 1998) argues that “the continuity and changes experienced by social houses over generations, and the time depth inherent in the ideology of the house or its valued heirlooms...[serve] to embody a collective memory about the past, a reference to origins that often forms a salient bond uniting house members.” Viewing great houses as social institutions in this manner requires taking into account the overall temporal and spatial context of the house. In the sections that follow, we provide a case study to illustrate how aspects of Chaco Canyon might be reinterpreted from this perspective.

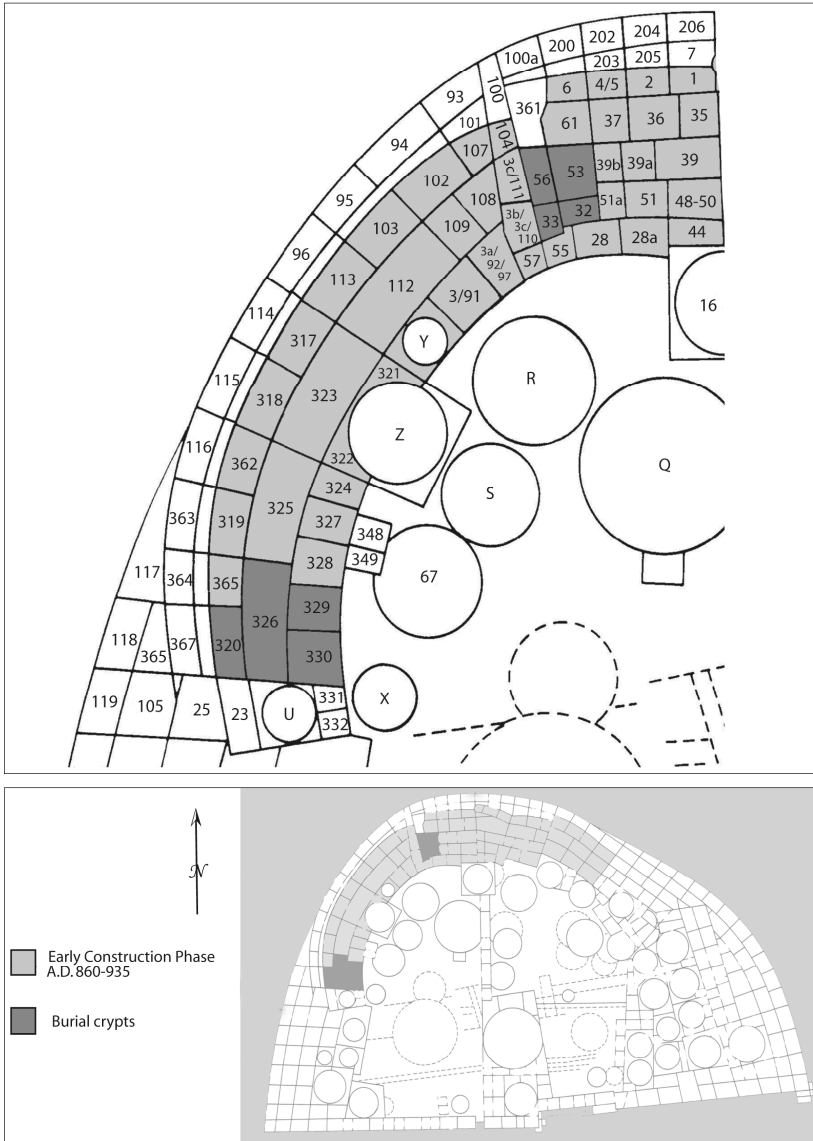
## **THE CASE STUDY: DUAL BURIAL CRYPTS AT PUEBLO BONITO**

At the turn of the twentieth century, archaeologists George Pepper (for example, Pepper 1909, 1920) and Neil Judd (for example, Judd 1954) each excavated a four-room mortuary crypt at Pueblo Bonito, the largest of twelve monumental masonry structures now referred to as great houses and constructed in Chaco Canyon between A.D. 860 and 1130 (fig. 4.3). The northern crypt examined by Pepper consisted of four adjacent rooms (numbers 28, 32, 33, 53, and 56), all part of the

first Pueblo Bonito construction stage begun around A.D. 850 (Windes and Ford 1996). The western crypt studied by Judd included contiguous room numbers 320, 326, 329, and 330. Pepper and Judd discovered these two burial clusters in the oldest section of the building. During Stage VIIc (A.D. 1085+) a north/south dividing wall (Fig. 4.3) effectively bisected the plaza of Pueblo Bonito (Lekson 1984:140–41). Both burial crypts lay on the west side of the dividing wall. Neither cluster could be entered directly from the plaza and in general were not easily accessible; the excavation notes of George Pepper describe the difficulties of making accurate observations when excavating with candles in dark, cramped quarters with no ventilation (Reyman 2003).

Each of the burial crypts contained a substantial inventory of ritual paraphernalia, elaborate grave goods, primary and secondary burials, as well as ritual offerings related to the cardinal directions. The northern four-room suite contained the more extensive assemblage. Room contents included ceremonial paraphernalia (pipes, fossils, flutes, ceremonial sticks) and significantly larger quantities of turquoise (Akins 1986:133). These rooms also show greater evidence of preparation as burial places. Unlike the western crypt, these rooms were never filled with trash and only reveal signs of windblown sand deposits. The western room cluster is also architecturally distinct. Two of the rooms show hearth, ventilator, and roof-ladder access that excavator Neil Judd interpreted as indicating either domestic or secret-society rooms (Akins 1986:122–23). These rooms also contained a similar array of elaborate primary and secondary burials, although the evidence for periodic trash filling and the lack of ritual paraphernalia set them apart from the northern cluster.

It is important to emphasize that, in general, the practice of burying the dead within rooms was uncommon for this time period in the northern Southwest. In addition, no such burials were located at other excavated great houses (Chetro Ketl, Kin Kletso, Pueblo Alto, and Pueblo del Arroyo), nor were comparably diverse caches of ceremonial objects (Akins 1986:140). Although provocative, these comparative data are inconclusive given the limited sample. Over 95 percent of Pueblo Bonito was excavated between 1896 and 1927—making it the primary point of interpretive reference. To what extent we can extrapolate from Bonito is still very much open to debate. Given that no

**FIGURE 4.3**

*Plan view of Pueblo Bonito with enlarged view of burial crypts.*

other great house has been excavated to a comparable degree, the burial crypts at Bonito may or may not be indicative of broader burial practices.

Regardless of its role as a typical or anomalous great house, Pueblo Bonito was in fact a highly elaborated structure with great time-depth. As such it offers a unique record of great-house form, function, and symbolic elaboration. In addition to their location, the burial chambers also are unusual in that both contained articulated as well as disarticulated burials. In her data analysis, Nancy Akins (1986) found that field notes and museum collections differed in their reckoning of the numbers of individuals represented. Much of the confusion came from the presence of skeletal fragments as opposed to whole individuals. Some bodies were interred without crania, and some crania were buried without bodies; thus it is impossible to determine exactly how many individuals were represented based on disarticulated skeletal sections.

Statements that mention only “two anomalous burials” in Chaco (Van Dyke 2003a:183) illustrate the extent to which these mortuary complexes are oversimplified and ignored. The two subfloor burials from the northern cluster to which Van Dyke refers were both paired burials. In Room 33, Pepper excavated two males buried beneath a wooden floor with the boards laid east–west. The original floor had been covered first by a layer of yellow sand and then by a layer of wood ashes. The bodies were interred simultaneously, laid across each other with turquoise, bone, jet, malachite, and shell offerings in all four corners (Akins 1986:117–18). The other well-recorded subfloor burial was also from the northern cluster and also included paired individuals. These two bodies were separated by a preexisting east–west wall: one was buried to the north, and one to the south. Although the excavation notes are incomplete, these burials are the only two boxed-in by side boards with sticks above and below the bodies (Akins 1986:118). The only other subfloor burials come from the western cluster. Unfortunately, Judd did not publish his findings and the field notes are inconclusive.

Even though these two crypts contain rich and extraordinary inventories of mortuary objects and incomparably diverse burial practices for the Pueblo Southwest, they have received remarkably little attention. Some of the earliest mortuary analyses of the Pueblo Bonito burials were plainly simplistic. In his excavation of the northern mortuary crypt, George Pepper suggested that the array of disarticulated bodies in Room 33 was the result of water flooding through the east

doorway. In her 1986 reanalysis of the burials, Nancy Akins pointed out that this interpretation ignored the fact that skulls were rather evenly distributed around the room. Given the evidence for intact subfloor burials within the rooms, Pepper's meager explanation excluded the possibility of multiple forms of mortuary practices.<sup>9</sup> Although the respective wealth of these burial clusters has been indexed as evidence of a three-tiered ascribed hierarchy (Akins 2003; Neitzel 2003), recent research has significantly complicated this static interpretation of Chacoan social organization (Windes 2003). Windes's fine-grained analysis of renovation, abandonment, and reoccupation of Pueblo Bonito demonstrates that the mortuary data must be understood within the context of a continuously changing relationship with the built environment.

Moreover, efforts to address the significance of the crypts have largely focused on whether characteristics of the individual burials—the large quantities of turquoise, the association of the unique assemblage of cylinder vessels, the preparation of the subfloor burials—should be viewed as indicators of a social hierarchy. In other words, was Chaco a chiefly, ranked society or was it egalitarian in nature? Notably lacking has been discussion of the articulated and disarticulated skeletal remains and the many associated artifacts as an *integrated, multidimensional* set of materials that might inform us about many facets of Chaco society. It is therefore not surprising that scholars have failed to explore the possible connection between the burial crypts and the contemporaneous architectural dualism noted by Fox, Vivian, and others.

### **Burials and Ancestors**

Looking closely at Pueblo Bonito, for example, we argue that the burial contexts are dependent on other dimensions of social relations. Their placement within the oldest section of Pueblo Bonito, in combination with the absence of such burial chambers not only in other sections of Pueblo Bonito but also in other known great houses, signifies the importance of the particular spatial context and suggests the practice of ancestor veneration. Clearly not everyone was buried within these two room clusters. Those that were had some meaningful connection to the original core of Pueblo Bonito or, in the case of parts of bodies that were later brought into these crypts, the ancestral origins



symbolized by the architectural core.

At issue within the house-society model is the tension between the house as the material expression of social relations and the house as malleable organic symbol. In her research on house societies in the Tanimbar, Indonesia, Susan McKinnon (2000:162) discusses the seeming paradox within theoretical articulations of the house model.

On the one hand, Levi-Strauss and others have oriented us to the ways in which houses represent the "objectification of relations".... This objectification is often expressed in the qualities of permanence, hardness, and immobility that characterizes the wooden, metal, stone and bone objects that constitute the material elaborations of the house. On the other hand, the house is often seen as a living, moving, growing body. Not only is it sometimes structured as a body and thought to breathe or possess a soul..., but, of course, it also encompasses and contains a proliferation of living occupants.

McKinnon goes on to describe how the linguistic metaphors of houses in the Tanimbar mediate this seeming paradox between the "real" and the "imagined." This tension between houses as fixed sites of origin anchored in bones and wood, and houses as living bodies that are related, named, and ranked through kinship terminology seems an insightful model for the Chacoan context.

Housed in the oldest portion of Pueblo Bonito, the burial crypts demonstrate a similar kind of anchoring in the bones, posts, directional offerings, and physical objects of ritual practice. At the same time, these objects and contexts seem to be connected to a broader cosmological realm (S. Plog 2003; Reyman 1971, 1982). In her discussion of the Cuna of eastern Panama, Mary Helms (1979:10) uses ethnographic data to illustrate a similar metaphorical connection between the main post, secondary vertical posts, and roof-support poles of houses and the chiefs and men and their ritual and political importance.

The data from Chaco Canyon preclude a straightforward application of ethnographic analogy between contemporary and historic Puebloan society. Nevertheless, research does indicate that great-house construction was anchored through similar physical and cosmological connections. Gordon Vivian and Paul Reiter (1960) described the pres-

ence of turquoise and lignite offerings, both sacred materials (S. Plog 2003), between the sandstone discs supporting the kiva roof-support posts at Chetro Ketl. Similarly, Joan Mathien (2001:110–13; 2003:131) has discussed the presence of sealed turquoise and shell offerings in kiva roof beams and supporting pilasters. Following the house model, this tension (between the objectification of relations in the physical house construction and the house as a living body encompassing the dynamics of occupants) reveals these complementary dimensions of archaeological interpretation. As viewed through this theoretical model, the primary and secondary burials housed in the two mortuary crypts of Pueblo Bonito demonstrate how typological definitions of tiered hierarchy obscure the range of strategies and symbolic investment entailed in such mortuary practices.

In her recent discussion of Late Bonito phase (A.D. 1100–1140) great houses, Van Dyke argues that new formalized building schemes signal new strategies employed by leaders to reference and redefine Chaco as a center place. This formalization consisted of two symmetrical room blocks built around a single kiva (Van Dyke 2003b:20). Like Windes's, Van Dyke's analysis highlights the complexities of emergent social transformation through fine-grained analysis of building construction. As described by Van Dyke and others, the Late Bonito phase "McElmo" architectural style indicates a more expedient method of construction. If future research can link the dual mortuary assemblages to patterns evident in later stages of occupation at Pueblo Bonito, these two burial clusters may also suggest an emergent dualism or moiety organization. At this stage, we tentatively suggest that these burials may have been connected to broader strategies of labor organization and the development or redefinition of a cosmological dualism within seasonal, social and architectural practice.

### **Cylinder Vessels and Renewal**

Other recent analyses have addressed a similarly nuanced concern for the distinctive cylinder vessels recovered in close association with the burial crypts (Crown and Wills 2003; S. Plog 2003). If we look at the valued heirlooms contained in adjacent rooms at Pueblo Bonito, there are some informative associations. Room 28, for example—just south of Room 33—contained the largest cache of cylinder vessels found in the Southwest. Such vessels have been found almost exclusively in

great-house contexts throughout this region. Room 28 contained 111 of the 192 cylinder vessels recovered from Pueblo Bonito. Cylinder vessels were also found in Room 33 of the northern burial crypt. Only 210 are known, and all but six of those come from Chaco Canyon (Toll 1990).

A recent study of cylinder vessels by Patricia Crown and W. H. Wills (2003) links the painting and repainting of the vessels to widespread evidence of practices of ritual renewal. Evidence within Chaco Canyon and ethnographic examples demonstrate how murals in kivas were cyclically replastered (Solometo, *in press*). Crown and Wills argue that the cylinder vessels exhibit similar signs of resurfacing through refiring. The hatched ceramic decoration of these vessels has recently been linked to color and directional symbolism across various artifact classes (S. Plog 2003). Most of the cylinder vessels recovered from Pueblo Bonito are white. Crown and Wills have argued, however, that the evidence for “shadow” designs on these vessels indicates that designs were applied and then burned or washed off. Organic color paints would have disappeared during the firing process, leaving a “fugitive” design. Connected to broader practices of renewal, Crown and Wills (2003:525) argue that these cylinder vessels “became repositories of collective memory and historical continuity between past and present.”

The cylinder vessels are but one example of the complex caches of heirloom objects found in Pueblo Bonito. Their spatial context within the oldest portion of the structure as well as the evidence for large-scale storage suggest that these objects constitute property of the house. Some cylinder vessels are associated with individual burials within the mortuary crypts. The one example of a refired vessel, when contextualized within broader ethnographic examples of mural renewal and color symbolism, complicates many of the extant interpretations of the Pueblo Bonito burials. The association of these vessels with burials connects them to mortuary ritual. The orientations, offerings, and directional symbolism included with secondary burials might be understood as a process of transition constituted by stages of separation, liminality, and reburial (Metcalf and Huntington 1991:130).

#### **Exchange and the Cosmos**

Many archaeologists have highlighted the substantial collection of turquoise, shell, and other nonlocal materials associated with the Pueblo Bonito burial crypts, as the quantities of these materials, par-

ticularly turquoise, are orders of magnitude greater than the assemblages associated with the typical burial of the region, while others, such as the cylinder vessels, are simply unique. And, because of a potential relationship between mortuary assemblages and the status of the individuals they accompany, considerable discussion has focused on whether or not these burials suggest differential access to key resources and thus social stratification or at least significant social differentiation within Chaco society (for example, Cameron and Toll 2001:11). In most of these cases, the authors suggest that an individual's ability to acquire such materials depends on, and reinforces, a person's sociopolitical status in the same way that access to large diamonds, fancy cars, and designer clothes indicates wealth and bestows status in our own society. In short, economic wealth and status covary. Long-distance trade provides and demonstrates access to this wealth.

What these discussions have sometimes noted but not emphasized is the relevance of such materials as shell and turquoise to ritual and political power and authority. If we view ritual, economics, and social relations as interrelated from the perspective of the concept of house societies, turquoise and shell are not simply an indication of material wealth, but rather are important multi-vocal symbols (Turner 1967). Turquoise and shell, for example, play important roles in Pueblo ritual and often are regarded as "sacred" for a variety of reasons. Helms has emphasized that "sanctity becomes a vital element of political power since it is largely by virtue of their aura of sanctity, that is, of association with 'ultimate truth,' that the leaders of such societies control the people and material resources under their charge" (1979:176); thus "those persons or social groups who can evidence the most privileged access to contexts of cosmological origins will be most likely to be accorded political legitimacy and political authority" (1998:10). "Contacts with the wider cosmos are therefore believed to be absolutely essential for both personal and social survival, reproduction, and esteem" (Helms 1998:7). Furthermore, because of (a) the association between cosmological distance and geographic distance and (b) the reality "that whatever is situated in the outside realms of spatial/temporal distance qualitatively transcends...that which is purely local and immediate" (Helms 1998:176), trade with more distant locations provides one of the most explicit methods of demonstrating connections to the wider cosmos (Helms 1979, 1998).

However, in the same way that nonlocal goods are not simply wealth, neither are they simply power or authority. Following Helms (1998), we suggest that the association of these nonlocal goods with the two sets of primary and secondary burials at Pueblo Bonito has much to say about the dynamics of social groups within the pueblo and within the canyon. "Human life and the life of the house or the polity are inherently fragile, especially in low-technology societies, but durable goods and, by extension, the values and qualities they embody are more lasting. And as long as wealth and the values of wealth endure, so do the qualities of ancestors, affines, and animals referencing prior origins or absolute first-principle forms of being" (Helms 1998:173). The house model thus offers a perspective from which trade items are not isolated as static indicators of differential access and thus social differentiation, but instead are forms of enacting differential access to origins through time.

Changing the frame of discourse thereby opens up new modes of interpretation. Great houses, in the Chacoan context, need not be conflated with particular kinship formations. Rather, as highlighted within the house model, these structures become meaningful places within a more complicated and shifting social network of hierarchical or heterarchical relationships. Although contemporary definitions of kinship move beyond relationships of descent, it is nevertheless intriguing to note that quantitative genetic analysis of craniometric variation has revealed important differences between the sets of individuals buried in the two Pueblo Bonito crypts (Schillaci 2003; Schillaci and Stojanowski 2002). Given the importance of dualism in eastern Pueblo society and Tewa communities in particular (Ortiz 1969) and the genetic similarities between one of the Bonito burial groups and recent ancestors of the Tewa (Schillaci 2003; Schillaci and Stojanowski 2002), the presence of the two Bonito "houses" is highly suggestive of a moiety organization for Chaco Canyon society. To include moieties or dual divisions within discussion of Chacoan social dynamics is not enough, however. We cite the underemphasis of such a form of social organization as emblematic of a deeper research bias toward a normative western Pueblo model rooted in a restricted application of kinship theory. Addressing the possibility of an emergent dual organization (ca. A.D. 1085–1140?) within a model of house societies allows for a diachronic approach with greater contextual resolution by analyzing

these spaces (and the mortuary assemblages therein) as locations where social relations were enacted, negotiated, and thus changing through time.

## CONCLUSION

In the preceding discussion we suggest that, given the explicit and implicit dependence of archaeological interpretation on Puebloan ethnographic analogy, it is incumbent on Southwestern archaeologists to be critically aware of the cultural diversity represented in the ethnographic and ethnohistoric data from Puebloan societies. The normative western Pueblo model, first synthesized by Fred Eggan, created a static kinship typology within the structural-functionalist paradigm that has been perpetuated in the archaeological literature in part because of its incorporation within the classificatory schemes (B-T-C-S) archaeologists have often used to characterize past societies. In order to move toward a diachronic interpretation of social organization, both in the Southwest and elsewhere, archaeologists must bring to bear a wider body of ethnographic data to critically reanalyze kinship theory and to avoid the presumption that conventional kinship typologies are more “natural” and stable through time (McKinnon 2002).

In addition, by artificially separating social, ritual, and political domains, archaeologists have oversimplified behavior and perception; in doing so, they have similarly oversimplified the nature of culture change and implicitly directed explanations of change away from the dynamic and complex processes by which those changes unfolded. The house model suggests that both archaeologists and ethnographers should examine the convergence of analytical domains to enrich interpretation within a diachronic perspective. The strengths of this approach within Southwestern literature are that (1) it redirects our attention to aspects of community organization, and (2) it identifies a unit of analysis that allows archaeologists to move away from categorizing hierarchy and toward explanations of how hierarchical relationships changed and were enacted and negotiated through time.

The Pueblo Bonito mortuary data demonstrate that much more than lineage solidarity was being invested and enacted through burial practices at Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon.<sup>10</sup> We have argued that the two burial crypts and their associated materials suggest that the life of Pueblo Bonito, and perhaps Chaco society more broadly, can be

understood more fully through the concept of the “house.” The two burial chambers suggest that two such houses or social groups were the nexus of ritual, economic, and political action (see also Akins 2001:184; 2003:103). Emergent moieties that crosscut great houses and yet compete with one another may help us understand aspects of Chaco that models of competing lineages (Sebastian 1992) cannot explain (for example, the massive building programs of the last half of the eleventh century, the timbers for which were harvested and stockpiled in the mountains to the west and southwest and then used to build roomblocks in *multiple* great houses).

In his ethnography of the Tewa, Ortiz argued that the dualism of Winter and Summer people was both social and symbolic and that this division was enacted through ritual practice. Although he offered a model of how Tewa moieties are constructed, archaeology has the unique ability to investigate how such changes might have emerged through time. In this discussion, we demonstrate how aspects of a normative Pueblo model have and continue to bias archaeological interpretation through a restricted theoretical evaluation of kinship in prehistory. We further suggest that the house model provides a more holistic and dynamic—and thus more human—framework for our studies of culture change.

### Notes

We thank Dick Ford, Sev Fowles, Jill Neitzel, Jonathan Reyman, Gwinn Vivian, and two anonymous reviewers for providing comments on a draft of this chapter. We also want to acknowledge the important and much-appreciated contributions of Dick Ford and Susan McKinnon, who have guided much of our thinking on the issues discussed. Discussions of Pueblo social organization with Dick over the last three decades have significantly influenced the junior author’s approach to the archaeological record. Frequent conversations with, and a seminar taught by, Susan McKinnon in the spring of 2003 also proved to be critical in the evolution of our thinking. Classmates Beatrix Arendt, Adam Harr, Abigail Holeman, and Pati Wattenmaker also deserve our thanks for their insights and comments.

1. Even Eggan (1950: 320) noted that there may have been “greater emphasis on dual ceremonial organization in the upper San Juan in contrast to the probable multiple society organization in northeastern Arizona,” although

this observation was seemingly disregarded in his overarching discussion of the differences between eastern and western Pueblo social organization. We also acknowledge that Eggan's own views changed (1972), although these changes are typically not reflected in discussion of his work by archaeologists.

2. Fox follows Eggan (1950) and Wittfogel and Goldfrank (1943) in this regard. See F. Plog (1978) for a more extended treatment of this issue.

3. Vivian's paper was first presented at one of the first School of American Research Advanced Seminars, a seminar series initiated by the then new SAR president, Douglas Schwartz.

4. Ware (2002: 107) inaccurately states that Fox "conceded the likelihood... that Keresan moieties were borrowed from the Tewa at a relatively late date." Fox (1972: 84–85) acknowledges that this is a possibility, but the thrust of his argument for Keresan pueblos is that "since patrimoieties exist, since clans exist, and since the obvious logic of the [kinship] terminology exists, then it seemed simplest to put all these together in the speculative reconstruction proposed above," that is, a system of two exogamous patrilineal moieties crosscut by exogamous matrilineal clans. In addition, Fox does not address his earlier discussion of Chaco Canyon, and there is thus no reason to discount his suggestions regarding Chacoan dual organization.

5. It is therefore not surprising that scholars of the Pueblo Southwest have rejected the band-tribe-chieftdom-state framework as a useful approach to explanation. We question, however, whether it makes equal sense to reject these terms as a way of communicating with one another. These terms do have meanings that scholars have found useful over the years in their descriptions of the past. Substituting the concept of "middle-range" for tribe, grouping tribes and chiefdoms as "intermediate-level," or reducing bands, tribes and states to "bandishness" (Yoffee 1993)—in short, replacing broad concepts with even broader, more ambiguous concepts—does very little to help us communicate with one another or to describe, much less explain, the cultural variation that we observe in the archaeological record.

6. It is noteworthy, however, that some of the scholars whose research has rejected the relationship between redistribution and chiefly organization nevertheless still find tribe and chieftdom to be useful descriptive concepts (e.g., Earle 1997; Kirch 1984; Pauketat 1994).

7. Feinman (2000a, 2000b; Feinman, Lightfoot, and Upham 2000) has authored or coauthored several papers applying dual processual theory to the Pueblo Southwest, and therefore these formulations are emphasized in our discussion.



8. Although Feinman (2000a:155; 2000b:213, 220) explicitly states that the corporate and network modes should be viewed as a continuum and are not meant to serve as “a new societal typology” (that is, a new group of categories comparable to B-T-C-S), other statements appear inconsistent with this assertion. For example, he notes (2000a:155; 2000b:216, 221) that the two modes “are structurally antagonistic,” and thus “in many situations one strategy or the other will have a tendency to predominate.” Cataloging traits or “tendencies” of the corporate and network nodes (Feinman 2000a:160; 2000b:214; Feinman, Lightfoot, and Upham 2000:453) further conveys the notion that the corporate and network are not in fact points on a continuum, but static categories like band, tribe, chiefdom, and state. Furthermore, although Feinman (2000b:221) suggests that “there is a large definable middle ground that can empirically be observed between these polar extremes” of corporate and network, in practice he provides little or no evidence of that central segment of the continuum; societies are typically labeled as corporate or network, but not “part-corporate, part-network.”

9. A similar disregard of the possibility of multiple burial practices also characterizes some other discussions of Chacoan sites. In a 1939 discussion of mortuary contexts at small house site BC-50, Kluckhohn describes burials that were “badly scattered” (Kluckhohn and Reiter, eds. 1939:46) alongside intact extended burials. From this, he concludes the following: “[T]he fact that some bones were found still in the position of articulation militates against the chance of secondary burial and points rather to disturbance by carnivores or rodents” (Kluckhohn and Reiter, eds. 1939:46). Kluckhohn dismissed the possibility of changing practices through time or the possibility that the intersection of objects and multiple forms of burial practices and contexts could be something other than categorical. The evidence for one type of burial practice precluded evidence for other forms.

10. The objects, bodily treatment, and symbolic contexts represented in these crypts offer a rich body of data that might be more adequately addressed not only with more appropriate models, but also with more complete descriptions of the assemblages from these sets of rooms. Unfortunately, much of these data remain unpublished, and the original records, artifacts, and photographs are curated by several institutions, making study difficult. The Chaco Digital Initiative, an effort by a group of thirteen scholars, with support from the Mellon Foundation, the School of American Research, and the Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities at the University of Virginia, will endeavor to remove this roadblock by creating an online digital archive that will greatly facilitate access to these data.